DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 209 712 CS 503 667

AUTHOR Heflin, Debbora Tiesha Ann
TITLE The Acceptance of Television Commercials among Black Consumers.
PUB DATE Aug 81
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (Los Angeles, CA, August 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adults; *Black Attitudes; *Blacks; *Ethnicity; Perception; *Television Commercials; *Television Research

ABSTRACT

A great deal of research has examined the effects of the racial composition of advertisements on their acceptance by the black consumer. From this literature two antithetical findings have emerged: (1) television commercials that use black models are more meaningful to black viewers than are those using white models, and (2) black models in advertisements have a negative effect on black consumers. A study was undertaken to address these contradictory findings by examining the contribution of black consciousness level in mediating the acceptance of television commercials among black consumers. The Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIB-C) was used to assess the psychological location of an individual along the black consciousness continuum. More than two hundred black adults then were asked to give "interesting" and "convincing" ratings to four types of television commercials (black models, white models, integrated cast, and neutral--with no models). Recognition and recall data were also collected. The findings indicated that the subjects gave black commercials the highest ratings and remembered them the best. When subjects viewed white commercials, the results showed that blacks were more likely to give favorable ratings in accord with their level of black consciousness as measured by the DIB-C--with those possessing the lowest level of consciousness giving the most favorable ratings. (Author/FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED209712

THE ACCEPTANCE OF TELEVISION COMMERCIALS AMONG BLACK CONSUMERS

by

Debbora Tiesha Ann Heflin[1]

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Debbora Tiesha Ann Heflin

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS503667

[1] Based on an unpublished masters thesis submitted to Arizona State University. Reprints and appendices are available upon request. Mail requests to Debbora Heflin, ASU Psychology Dept., Tempe, Arizona.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		vii
LIST OF FIGURES		viii
Chapter		
I	Introduction	1
	Positive Reactions	1
	Negative Reactions	2
	Reactions to Integrated Advertisements	3
	Black Consciousness	4
	The Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness	5
	Personality correlates	7
	Scope of Study	8
II	Method	10
	Subjects	10
	Design	10
	Procedure	11
	Experimental stimuli	14
	Dependent measures	14
III	Results	15
	DIB-C Scores	15
	Commercial Ratings	16
	Interesting ratings	16
	Convincing ratings	23
	Correlations between measures	23
	Recognition Data	24
	Memory Data	28
	Demographic Data	28
IV	Discussion	33
Reference Notes		38
References		39

CHAPTER I

Introduction

A number of researchers have examined the effects of the racial composition of advertisements (all-black, all-white, and integrated casts of actors) on acceptance by black consumers. However, the findings from this literature have been inconclusive and call for further empirical study. On the one hand, some researchers investigating this topic have found that advertisements which use black models are more meaningful and more acceptable to black viewers than all-white advertisements. In contrast, other researchers have maintained that black consumers react negatively to the use of black models in advertisements.

Positive Reactions

Turning to the first viewpoint, a study conducted by the Bureau of Advertising (1970) examined the reactions of black consumers to white and black models in retail advertisements. The findings of this study indicated that the retail advertisements utilizing black models generated increased levels of advertisement recall among black respondents. Schlinger and Plummer (1972) investigated the reactions of black consumers to all-black and all-white cast versions of television commercials. Their results showed that black respondents rated the black-cast version as more meaningful (i.e. more appealing, entertaining, beautiful, and memora-

ble).

Negative Reactions

In contrast to these findings, a number of investigators have postulated the possibility that all-black advertising will have a negative effect on black consumers (Frazier, 1962, 1968; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Bauer and Cunningham, 1970). This notion has been forcefully expressed by Grier and Cobbs, who hypothesized that the black man "identifies with his oppressor psychologically in an attempt to escape from his hopeless position. From his new psychologically 'white' position, he (the black man) turns on (against) black people..." (p. 167). In a similar manner, Frazier (1962) discussed the plight of the black bourgeoisie who have escaped into the world of make believe. Frazier described these individuals as rejecting "both identification with the Negro and his traditional culture" (p. 237). In parallel with this line of reasoning, Bauer and Cunningham (1970) found evidence that black males identify with white males as points of reference for consumerism. Their findings indicated that black male Scotch drinkers rated their own social status significantly lower than that of comparable white male Scotch drinkers. Bauer and Cunningham pointed out that if Blacks used other Blacks as their reference group, then they should rate their own social status as the same as, if not higher than, that of Whites at the same income level. Bauer and Cunningham concluded that their

middle- and upper-income Blacks were using Whites as their reference group. These findings provide a possible explanation to why some black consumers might view advertisement campaigns which employ black models as less favorable than those which use white models. Such advertisements could be inviting Blacks to identify with a lower social status.

Reactions to Integrated Advertisements

Studies investigating the effects of integrated advertising have also shed some light on the reactions of black consumers to various advertising stimuli. One of the first researchers to investigate this topic was Barban (1969), who conducted a study utilizing a random sample of printed magazine advertisements which varied the race of the models shown. Some of these advertisements showed only black models, others showed all white models, while other advertisements included both black and white models. The models were shown interacting in various social settings (e.g., at a picnic, in a bar) and in various panel layouts in which no social contact between models was shown. Barban found that his sample (middle class black families) tended to judge both integrated and black-model advertisements as similar on a series of semantic differential scales. The results also indicated that white-model advertisements were viewed as more negative among black subjects. In a later study, Gould, Sigband, and Zoerner (1970) found that age was a mediating factor in black consumers' reactions to integrated

advertising. In this particular study, black respondents who were 29 or under tended to express negative reactions, while respondents 30 and older showed a tendency toward positive reactions to integrated advertising.

A study conducted by Szybillo and Jacoby (1974) was one of the few research projects which examined the reactions of black consumers to different levels of integrated advertising. The design of this study consisted of a five-point continuum of racial integration ranging from four Blacks and zero Whites to zero Blacks and four Whites. The results indicated that black subjects were more positively predisposed to integrated advertising when it suggested equality (i.e., two Blacks and two Whites) among the models than when it implied tokenism (i.e., one Black and three Whites). Szybillo and Jacoby also found a direct relationship between the racial ratio of an advertisement and purchase intent. These findings indicated that black subjects assigned the highest likelihood of purchase ratings to the advertisements showing two black and two white models, while the lower ratings were given to advertisements utilizing no Blacks/four Whites and four Blacks/no Whites, respectively.

Black Consciousness

By and large the evidence reviewed thus far appears to be contradictory and raises serious questions concerning the homogeneity of black consumers and their reactions toward external influences. The viewpoint that the nation's black

population is monolithic has come under considerable question in a variety of research areas. In particular, research on the topics of black identity and black consciousness suggests that there exist substantial ideological and attitudinal differences within the black population. These differences are evident in the diversity of attitudinal constructs (i.e., values, predispositions, and perceptions) maintained by black people regarding themselves, other Blacks, and Whites.

A number of investigators have examined the heterogeneous components of behavior that are manifested among Blacks (Caplan, 1970; Gerlach and Hine, 1970; Cross, Note 1, 1973; Terrell, 1978; Terrell and Allen, Note 2). Cross (Note 1, 1973) postulated that the historical aspects of black-white relations in America have caused an identity transformation among many Blacks. Cross pointed out that such an identity transformation is illustrated in four stages of black-identity development (Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion, and Internalization) and that these stages are representative of the diverse philosophies that exist among American Blacks.

The Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness. In a manner similar to Cross, Milliones (1980) posited four stages of Black Consciousness development which are prototypical of the outcomes of empirical, theoretical, and autobiographic literature elucidating the phenomenon of Black

Consciousness. These stages, which are characterized by different values and belief systems, have been designated as follows:

Stage 1: the Preconscious Stage encompasses the internalization of white racial stereotypes regarding Blacks, including the negative values associated with these stereotypes.

Stage 2: the Confrontation Stage is characterized by extreme polarization of black-white attitudes, in which Black is viewed as positive and good while White is perceived as negative and evil.

Stage 3: the Internalization Stage is represented by a transition to positive values relating to the black experience and a decline of anti-white sentiments.

Stage 4: the Integration Stage is characterized by the expansion of the internalization stage to include a concern for all oppressed people.

These stages reflect different positions along a continuum of black people's feelings toward their racial heritage and the development of a positive self-image. To support the conceptualization of these four stages, Milliones developed an assessment technique, the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIB-C), that provides an indication of the psychological location of an individual along the Black Consciousness continuum. The scoring procedure of this in-

strument pinpoints those individuals scoring high (e.g., strongly agree) that are representative of a particular stage and places them in that stage or location along the continuum. To account for response acquiescence, the DIB-C contains items which are keyed positive and negative on an equal basis.

Personality correlates. A number of researchers have explored the relationship between the black-identity formulation (i.e., the black consciousness phenomenon) and other personality constructs, such as defensiveness, aggression, impulsiveness (Brown, 1977), and self-concept (Sherif and Sherif, 1970). The data presented by Sherif and Sherif suggest that black identity issues relate directly to black pride and self-concept. These researchers maintain that black pride is not created in a vacuum, but comes about through feelings of inferiority and shame leading to guilt and rage, which are in turn recoded into feelings of black pride. Sherif and Sherif pointed out that this pride is eventually internalized as self-confidence and a modified self-concept.

A recent study has shown that a relationship exists between self-concept and the assessment of black leading roles in motion pictures and television shows (Darden and Bayton, 1977). Darden and Bayton found that Blacks with a high level of self-concept, as measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Fitts, 1965), reacted negatively to leading

roles that portrayed negative stereotypes of Blacks. Their findings also indicated that those individuals with low self-concept were more inclined to identify with these leading roles. Unfortunately, this study lacked adequate experimental controls. This inadequacy was demonstrated in Darden and Baytons' choice of experimental "stimuli"; subjects were asked to "keep in mind" all black-oriented motion picture films they had either seen or heard about in the past five years. Thus the findings of this study are quite limited and should be viewed with caution.

Scope of Study

The purpose of the present study was to conduct a more experimentally rigorous investigation of a black consumer's reactions to racial stimuli in advertising. This was accomplished by examining the role of black consciousness in the reactions of Blacks toward black and white models in television commercials. A major focus of this approach was to isolate the contribution of black consciousness in mediating the ratings given to television commercials by Blacks.

The fundamental hypothesis of this study is that black viewers in different stages of the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness will react differently to the racial composition of the casts of commercials. To be more specific, it was hypothesized that individuals in Stage 1 (Pre-Conscious) of the DIB-C would view all-white commercials as more interesting and convincing than those individuals in

Stage 2 (Confrontation). Individuals in Stage 2 should give higher ratings to commercials utilizing all-black models. It was further hypothesized that Blacks in Stage 3 (Internalization) would give higher ratings to all-black commercials, but their ratings of the all-white commercials would not be as low as those ratings given by individuals in Stage 2. For individuals in Stage 4 (Integration), it was hypothesized that they would rate integrated commercials higher than the other two types of commercials.

CHAPTER II

Method

Subjects

The experiment included 229 male and female black subjects. These subjects were recruited from four different cities: (1) In the Phoenix area, subjects were recruited from black churches, black fraternities/sororities and the Black Student Union on the Arizona State University campus, (2) Chicago subjects were recruited from Randolph A. Phillip Elementary School, (3) San Diego subjects were recruited from San Diego State University, and (4) Los Angeles subjects were recruited from Southwest Community College. Each subject served voluntarily for a period of one hour. With the exception of 20 subjects who were students in introductory psychology classes at Arizona State University serving for class credit, subjects received no pay or credit for participating. Subjects were run simultaneously in groups ranging in size from two to 45.

Design

The experimental stimuli consisted of 37 television commercials. These commercials were recorded from actual television broadcasts in the Phoenix and Los Angeles areas, using a JVC-VHS Model #HR-300U video cassette recorder. Eight commercials each were chosen from each of the following categories -- commercials with an all-white cast, com-

mercials with an all-black cast, racially integrated commercials, and neutral commercials showing no actors or cast (e.g., cat/dog food advertisements). This category provided a non-racial control condition. The remaining five experimental stimuli were neutral commercials which served as primacy/recency buffers for the memory task.

The chosen stimuli included a broad spectrum of television commercials (e.g., insurance, cosmetic, food, and appliance commercials) which represented each of the racial categories. For example, three beer commercials were chosen: a black-cast beer commercial, a white-cast beer commercial, and a beer commercial which showed an integrated cast of actors.

The basic design of the present study was a 4 X 4 mixed analysis of variance model with four levels of Black Consciousness and repeated measures on the four types of commercials (Figure 1). This design was employed with the following dependent variables: (1) ratings of "interesting", (2) ratings of "convincing", and (3) types of commercials most frequently recognized.

Procedure

At the outset, subjects received instructions outlining the procedure to be followed in the rating task and the method of responding (see Appendix A). Subjects were not told that they would be asked to recall or recognize the television commercials, nor were they told that the DIB-C would be

FIGURE 1

Experimental Design

STAGES OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

TYPES OF COMMERCIALS	Preconscious	Confrontation	Internalization	Integration
Black				
White				
Integrated				
Neutral				

given.

Experimental stimuli. The commercials were shown on a 20-inch JVC color monitor which was positioned five to 10 feet away from each group of subjects. All of the commercials (each being approximately 55 seconds in duration) were shown in their entirety. Each commercial was preceded by an identification number which appeared on the color monitor for approximately 10 seconds. The commercials were presented in a pseudo-random order, a different order for each group of subjects, with the constraint that no racial composition type was to appear more than twice in a row.

Dependent measures. Following the instructions, the tape was shown, and subjects rated each commercial on two dimensions: (a) how interesting each commercial was and (b) how convincing they perceived each commercial to be. The ratings were made on a five-point response scale with a rating of 1 meaning that the advertisement was not interesting (or convincing) and a rating of 5 representing an extremely interesting (or convincing) advertisement (see Appendix B). At the conclusion of this task, subjects were given either the recall task (see Appendix C) or a recognition task (Appendix D). Immediately after the subjects had completed the first half of the experiment, they were given a subscale of the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (Appendix E). Demographic information was also obtained from each subject (Appendix F).

CHAPTER III

Results

DIB-C Scores

Each subject's DIB-C scores were computed by summing the obtained score for each stage and dividing by the number of items answered for each stage. The value of the keyed negative items was reversed in computing the sum.

The results indicated that 83 subjects (41%) were classified as being in the Preconscious Stage, and 91 subjects (45%) were in the Confrontation Stage. Only 28 subjects (14%) fell within the fourth category, the Integration Stage. No subjects were found in the Internalization Stage (Stage 3). However, an examination of the data indicated that potential third stage people (26 cases) had a Stage 3 score which was tied with their Stage 2 score. These 26 subjects along with 20 other subjects who were unable to understand instructions or refused to complete the study were eliminated from the experiment, and their results do not appear in the analyses that follow.

Results on the distribution of stages within each of the cities indicated that the largest percentage (43%) of subjects in the Phoenix area were in the Preconscious Stage of the DIB-C, while the majority (58%) of the subjects in Chicago had DIB-C scores which placed them in the Confrontation Stage. In San Diego the largest percent (40%) of

subjects fell within the Confrontation Stage, and the majority (56%) of subjects in the Los Angeles area were scored as Preconscious individuals. Out of all the cities, Phoenix had the highest percentage (46%) of subjects in the Integration Stage.

Commercial Ratings

For the commercial ratings, the mean ratings for commercials of a given type were computed, and these means were used in the analyses. Thus, each subject had four scores (black, white, integrated, and neutral) for each analysis (interesting and convincing ratings). The buffer commercials were omitted from all analyses to be reported.

The data from the ratings of interesting and convincing were subjected to a 3 (DIB-C stages) X 4 (commercial type) mixed analysis of variance. The results of the analyses are shown in Tables 1 and 2. A pseudo three-dimensional diagram of the results for ratings of interesting and convincing are shown in Figures 2 and 3, respectively. Examination of the data indicated that black commercials received the highest ratings, while integrated commercials received the next highest ratings (Figures 2 and 3). Neutral commercials were next, being rated higher than white commercials, which received the lowest interesting and convincing ratings.

Interesting ratings. The ratings of interesting (Table 1) indicated that the main effect of DIB-C was highly significant, $F(2,200) = 8.09$, $p < .001$. Overall, subjects in

TABLE 1

Analysis of Variance on the

Interesting Ratings

Source	df	MS	F
DIB-C (D)	2	9.79	8.09**
Subjects: D	200	1.21	(error between)
Commercial Type (T)	3	47.30	230.14**
D X T	6	.49	2.37*
Ss X T	600	.20	(error within)

**$p < .001$

*$p < .03$

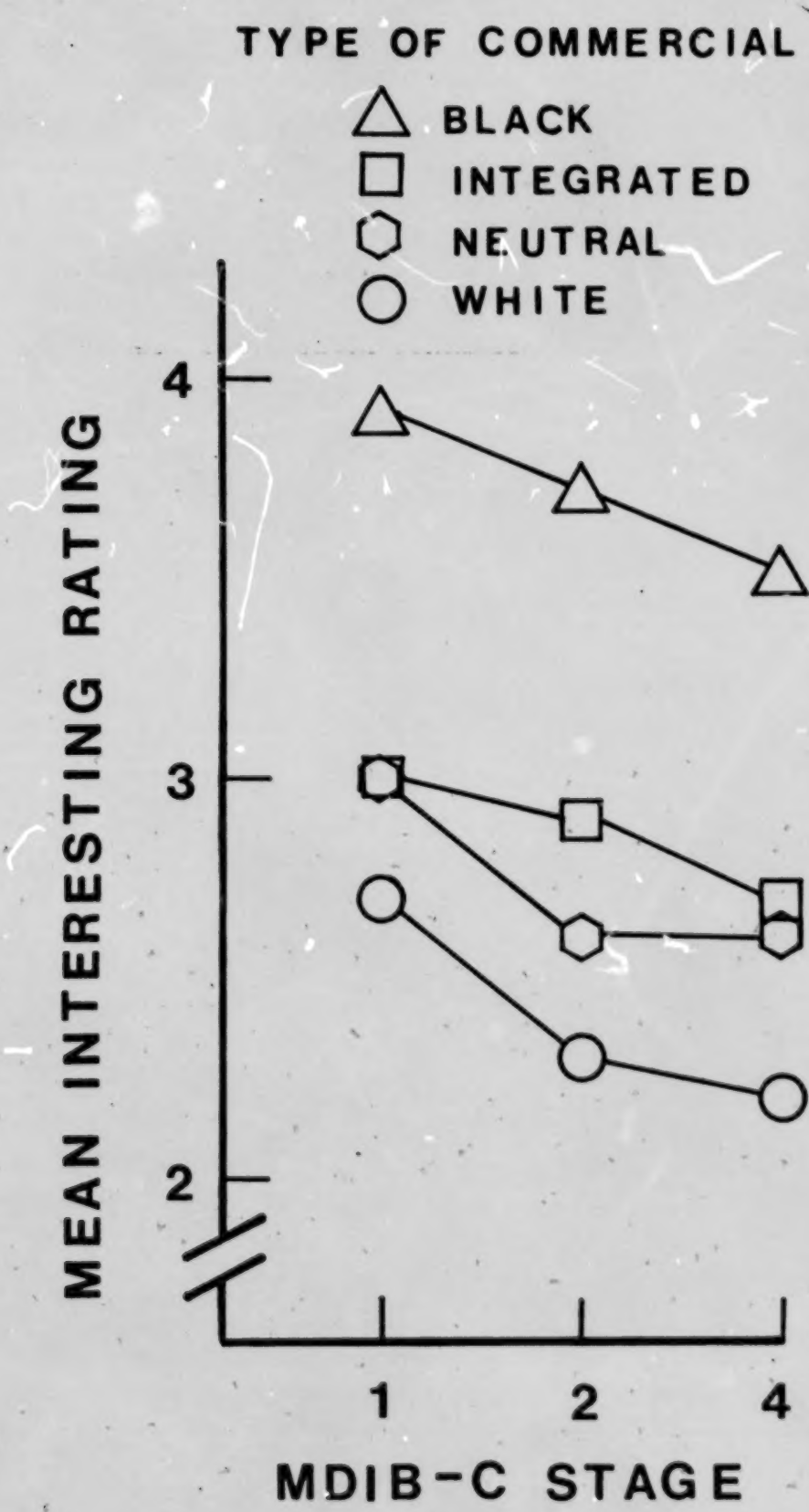

TYPE OF COMMERCIAL
BLACK
INTEGRATED
NEUTRAL
WHITE
MEAN INTERESTING RATING
4
3
2
1
2
4
MDIB-C STAGE

TABLE 2

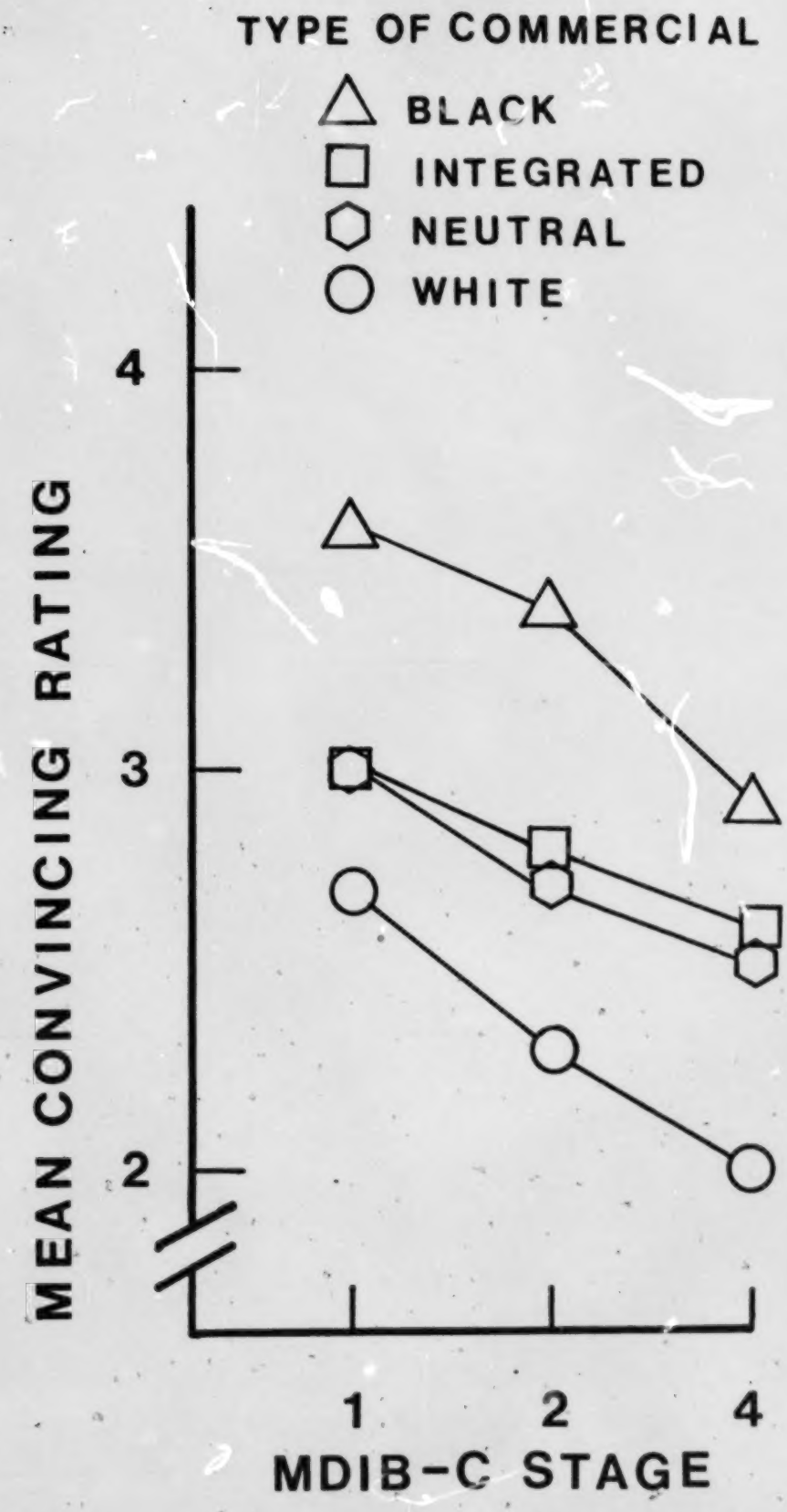
Analysis of Variance on the

Convincing Ratings

Source	df	MS	F
DIB-C (D)	2	14.04	7.87**
Subjects: D	200	1.78	(error between)
Commercial Type (T)	3	23.92	93.97**
D X T	6	.65	2.56*
Ss X T	600	.25	(error within)

**$p < .001$

*$p < .02$


TYPE OF COMMERCIAL
BLACK
INTEGRATED
NEUTRAL
WHITE
MEAN CONVINCING RATING
4
3
2
1
2
4
MDIB-C STAGE

the Preconscious Stage rated the average commercial as more interesting than did subjects in the Confrontation and Integration Stages, in that order. Black commercials received the highest interesting ratings, followed by integrated, neutral, and white commercials, $F(3,600) = 230.14$, $p < .001$. As illustrated in Figure 2, the DIB-C X commercial type interaction indicated that subjects in the Confrontation and Integration Stages rated commercials with an all-white cast as less interesting and black-cast commercials as much more interesting than the other types of commercials, $F(3,600) = 2.37$, $p < .03$.

Convincing ratings. The results for the convincing ratings were similar to the interesting ratings data (Table 2). The main effect of DIB-C was highly significant, $F(2,200) = 7.87$, $p < .001$, indicating that subjects in the Preconscious Stage rated the average commercial as more convincing than subjects in the Integration Stage who, out of all the groups, gave the lowest convincing ratings to commercials. Black-cast and integrated-cast commercials were viewed as the more convincing types of commercials, $F(3,600) = 93.97$, $p < .001$. The interaction between stage of DIB-C and type of commercial was significant, $F(6,600) = 2.56$, $p < .02$. Subjects in the Confrontation Stage rated white-cast commercials as being less convincing than black-cast commercials (Figure 3).

Correlations between measures. Correlational analyses

were performed on the ratings of interesting and convincing for each television commercial (i.e., the first commercial's interesting and convincing ratings were correlated with one another, across subjects, then the second commercial's ratings of interesting and convincing were correlated, and so on). Correlations ranged from .47 to .77, with a mode of .70. These findings suggest that the two variables, interesting and convincing, are not independent constructs.

Recognition Data

The mean recognition score for each commercial type for each subject was computed by dividing the number of commercials correctly recognized by the total number of commercials of that type. A 3(DIB-C stages) X 4(commercial type) mixed analysis of variance was performed on mean recognition scores (Table 3). These findings indicated that the main effect of DIB-C was not significant ($p = .11$). However, a strong main effect of commercial type was found, $F(3,399) = 12.03$, $p < .001$. A graphic illustration of these data showed that commercials with an integrated cast were recognized more often ($M = 6.82$) than black-cast commercials ($M = 6.73$) which were recognized more often than neutral commercials, $M = 5.50$ (Figure 4). Commercials with all-white casts were recognized less often than the other types of commercials ($M = 4.91$). The DIB-C by commercial type interaction was not significant ($p = .79$).

TABLE 3

Analysis of Variance on the Type of Commercials Recognized

Source	df	MS	F
DIB-C	2	21.77	2.22
Subjects: D	133	9.81	(error between)
Commercial Type (T)	3	16.36	12.00**
D X T	6	.72	.53
Ss X T	399	1.36	(error within)

**p < .001

FIGURE 4

Mean Recognition Scores as

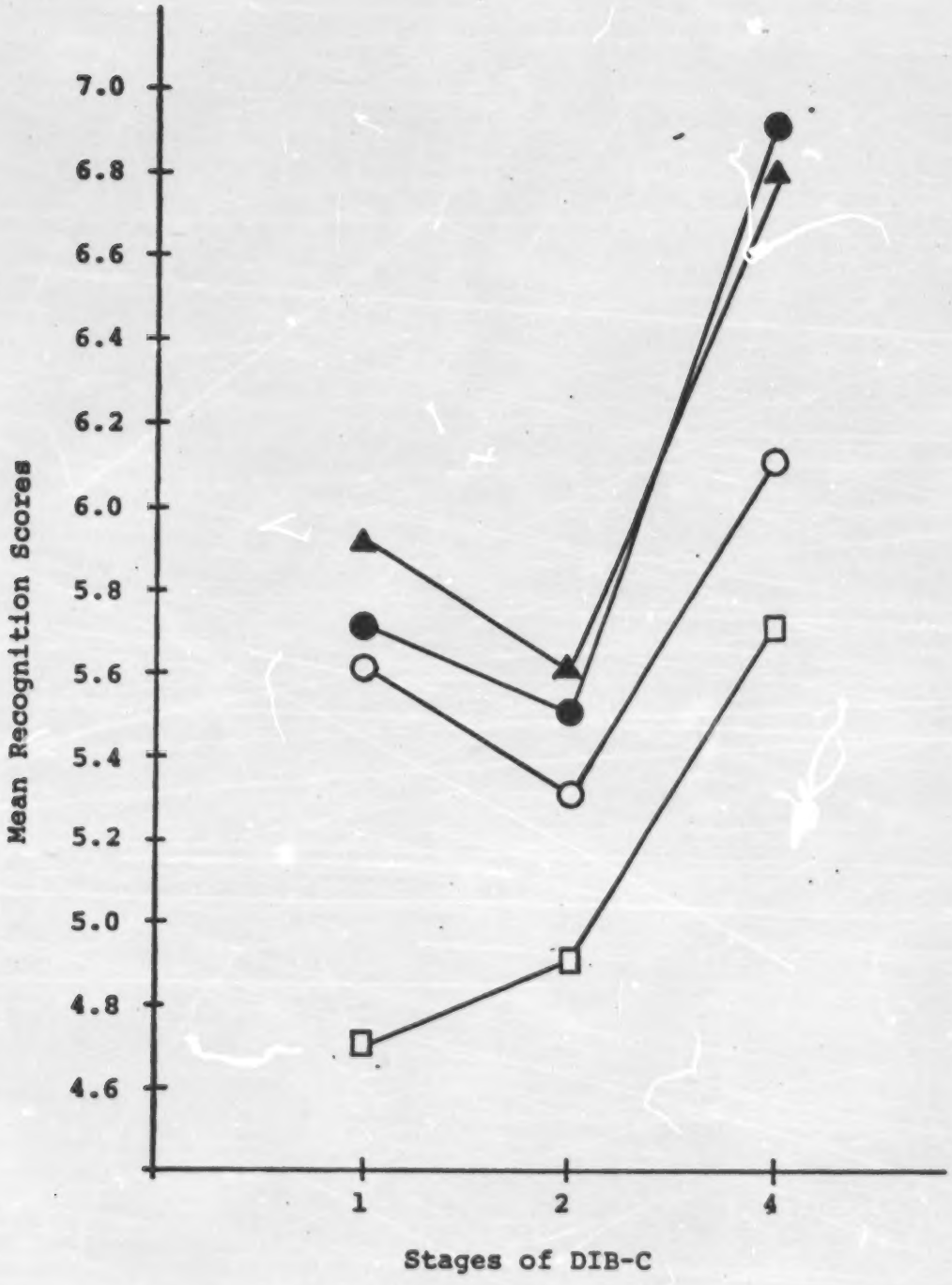
a Function of DIB-C Stage

Key: ● Black Commercials

□ White Commercials

▲ Integrated Commercials

○ Neutral Commercials


7.0
6.8
6.6
6.4
6.2
6.0
5.8
5.6
5.4
5.2
5.0
4.8
4.6
Mean Recognition Scores
1
2
4
Stages of DIB-C

Memory Data

There was no significant relationship between stage of DIB-C and type of commercial remembered. There was an overwhelming precedence in memory, excluding buffer commercials (the first two and last three commercials shown), for black commercials (59%), followed distantly by integrated (27%), white (13%), and neutral commercials (6%), $\chi^2(3) = 47.10$, $p < .001$. A 3 (DIB-C stage) X 3 (commercial type) analysis of variance was performed on the percentage of each type of commercial remembered (Table 4). In an analysis of percentages, every subject has the same total percentage (i.e., 100%) of commercials remembered. Thus, the main effect of DIB-C and its between-subjects error term (subjects X DIB-C) vanish. These findings were similar to the data on the first type of commercial remembered. The main effect of commercial type was significant, $F(2,130) = 5.20$, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 5, the percentage of subjects' responses allocated to black commercials (49%) was the highest, followed by 27 percent integrated commercials, and 24 percent for white commercials. The DIB-C by commercial type interaction was not significant ($p > .05$).

Demographic Data

The distribution of subjects by DIB-C across demographic variables is shown in Appendix G.[1] The relationship between educational level and stage of DIB-C was highly significant, $\chi^2(10) = 23.70$, $p < .008$. The majority (54%) of subjects in

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance on Percentages of Commercials Remembered

Source	df	MS	F
Between Subjects			
DIB-C (D)	2	0	--
Subjects: D	65	0	--
Within Subjects			
Commercial Type (T)	2	1,104,625.47	5.20**
D X T	4	54,494.00	.032
Ss X T	130	212,507.36	--

**p < .01

FIGURE 5

Mean Percent of Each Type

of Commercial Remembered

Key: 1 Preconscious Stage

2 Confrontation Stage

4 Integration Stage

COMMERCIAL TYPE

DIB-C STAGE	Black	White	Integrated
1	53%	23%	24%
2	43%	28%	29%
4	50%	20%	30%
	49%	24%	27%

grammar school were in the Confrontation Stage, while the largest percent (42%) of subjects attending college were in the Preconscious Stage. The Confrontation Stage constituted the largest percentage (47%) of subjects who had completed college.

The relationship between age category and DIB-C stage was also significant, $\chi^2(10) = 20.77$, $p < .02$. More than half (53%) of the subjects under 18 years old were in the Confrontation Stage, as compared to 41 percent for older subjects (18-24 years of age). Thirty-six percent of subjects between the ages of 18 and 24 were in the Preconscious Stage (44% for subjects under 18 years old). The findings pertaining to marital status and DIB-C stage were marginally significant, $\chi^2(10) = 16.81$, $p = .078$. More married subjects (60%) were in the Preconscious Stage, while single subjects were represented more in the Confrontation Stage.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

The results of the experiment provided some support for the hypothesis that black viewers at different levels of black consciousness react differently to advertising stimuli with varying racial compositions. However, some of the predictions describing the specific reactions of black viewers did not materialize. For example, even though the data showed that individuals in Stage 1 found all-white commercials more interesting and convincing (M = 2.69) than did individuals in Stage 2 (M = 2.29), the difference between these two groups was not significant. Black viewers in the Confrontation Stage gave higher ratings to black-cast commercials than all-white commercials, but these ratings were not much different from those ratings given by Blacks in the Preconscious Stage. For individuals in the Integration Stage, it was hypothesized that they would react more positively toward commercials which showed an integrated cast of actors. The data for Stage 4 subjects, however, showed that black commercials received higher ratings than those ratings received by integrated commercials. Upon a closer examination of these data, it becomes apparent that the ratings dropped off considerably (from M = 3.17 to M = 2.11) when these individuals were presented with all-white commercials, and that these ratings return to a more favorable

level when integrated advertising stimuli were presented. In general, the data showed that black viewers rated black-cast commercials more favorably than others. However, when presented with all-white commercials, the reactions on black viewers were along the lines of the predictions. The high correlations found between the ratings of interesting and convincing suggest that both taken together may constitute an index of acceptability of television commercials.

Turning to the recognition data, no main effect of DIB-C was observed. This may have resulted from the fact that the overall performance on the recognition task was so high that a ceiling effect emerged which aided in the suppression of possible between-group differences. When the recognition data are compared with the recall data, two different findings appear: black commercials are the first type of non-buffer commercials remembered while integrated advertisements were the types of commercials most often recognized. However, the difference between the number of integrated commercials and the number of black commercials recognized was only .09, making the findings on the recognition data and the first remembered data indistinguishable from one another. Comparing these data with the data on percentage of recall for each commercial type, it becomes apparent that commercials with a black cast of actors are both the first remembered and the most often type of commercials remembered. These findings showed that commercials with a black cast of

actors produced the strongest recall tendency among the non-buffer commercials.

The demographic data indicated that the distribution of certain variables varied by DIB-C. The limitations of these findings should be noted, however, because the sample population was one of convenience rather than a random selection of subjects. Since the present study utilized a subscale of the DIB-C which excluded some of the different types of items present in the long version of the DIB-C, comparing the DIB-C/demographic correlations to the findings of previous researchers is not feasible.

The failure of the present findings to pinpoint possible Third Stage individuals (Internalization Stage) may be attributable to a number of factors. The first factor has to do with the size of the response scale. The original DIB-C response scale contains 10 scale points. For the present study the number of scale points for each response was collapsed into a five-point scale, but the labels for each of the responses were retained. During the pilot phase of the study, many subjects had difficulty discriminating between the levels in the five-point scale. Thus the scale was reduced to a three-point scale of "not at all agree," "somewhat agree," and "entirely agree."

As a sample of convenience was chosen, sampling bias may be another factor contributing to these results. Since the Internalization Stage is represented by a transition of

values, probably the most compelling factor may be inherent in the conceptualization of this stage. It appears that there exists a considerable amount of overlap between the Internalization Stage (Stage 3) and the Confrontation Stage (Stage 2). For example, Blacks in Stage 3 are still basically distrustful of white people's intentions, but this type of attitude coexists with a host of involvements and endeavors in the black experience (i.e., cultural pride). In Stage 2, however, anti-white sentiments are more pervasive. As previously mentioned, the data showed that a number of Blacks (26 cases) had DIB-C scores that were ties between Stage 2 and Stage 3. Thus, these findings are supportive of the possibility that some overlap between the two stages exists.

It is also important to note that none of the different types of commercials received extremely high ratings. One possible explanation is that the use of eight commercials of each kind masked the specific differences between the various types of commercials. Another possibility is that by an accident of selection, the commercials used were non-interesting, non-convincing, and non-memorable. The latter explanation is less plausible, because the commercials used were broadly representative of the types of commercials presently being shown on television.

A possible limitation of this type of experimental stimuli is the variation that exists among the various types

of television commercials. Ideally, given the resources and the time, a study of this type could be run using the same form (i.e., identical scripts, customs, and situations) of black, white, and integrated commercials. Since this simply was not feasible in the academic environment, an attempt was made to match the type of commercials shown in each racial category. In the event that it becomes possible to use identical commercials, varying only the race of the cast, there are problems with realism (do Blacks really behave this way?) and relevance (does this commercial appeal to the needs of Blacks?) that may appear. For example, black women seldom if ever get the "greasies."

This research was unique in that it took an interactive approach to investigate the perceptions of black consumers. The findings of the present study add to the understanding of the characteristics of Blacks as receivers of commercial messages, especially of the mediating influence of black consciousness. Future research is needed in order to increase the understanding of the way in which an individual's perceptions of, and reactions to, persuasive commercial messages are linked to underlying value orientations and belief systems.

Reference Notes

1. Cross, W.E., Jr. The black experience viewed as a process: A crude model for black self-actualization. Paper presented at the 34th Annual Meeting of the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists, Tallahassee, Florida, April, 1970.

2. Terrell, F. and Allen, J. Some preliminary findings concerning black consciousness: A report to black college students. Unpublished manuscript, University of Pittsburgh, 1977.

References

Barban, A.M. The dilemma of integrated advertising. Journal of Business, 1969, 42, 477-496.

Bauer, R.A. and Cunningham, S.M. The Negro market. Journal of Advertising Research, 1970, 10, 3-13.

Brown, A. Personality correlates of the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1977.

Bureau of Advertising. Use of black models in ads doesn't alter sales patterns. Advertising Age, 1970, 41, 52.

Caplan, N. The new ghetto man: A review of recent empirical studies. Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26, 59-73.

Cross, W.E., Jr. The Negro-to-Black conversion experience. In A.J. Ladner (Ed.), The Death of White Sociology. New York: Random House, 1973, p. 410.

Darden, B.J. and Bayton, J.A. Self-concept and Blacks' assessment of black leading roles in motion pictures and television. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, 620-623.

Fitts, W.H. Tennessee Self-Concept Scale Manual. Nashville, Tennessee: Counselor Recordings and Tests, 1965.

Frazier, E.F. Black bourgeoisie: Behind the mask. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962.

Frazier, E.F. On race relations. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Gerlach, L.P. and Hine, V.H. The social organization of a movement of revolutionary change: Case study, black power. In W.E. Whitten, Jr. and J.F. Szwed (Eds.), Afro-American anthropology: Contemporary perspectives. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

Gould, J.W., Sigband, M.B. and Zoerner, C.E. Black consumer reactions to "integrated" advertising: An exploratory study. Job Marketing, 1970, 34, 20-26.

Grier, W.H. and Cobbs, P.M. Black rage. New York: Bantam Books, 1969.

Milliones, Jake. Construction of a black consciousness measure: Psychotherapeutic implications. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 1980, 17, 175-182.

Schlinger, M.I. and Plummer, J.T. Advertising in black and white. Journal of Marketing Research, 1972, 9, 149-153.

Sherif, M. and Sherif, C. Black unrest as a social movement toward an emerging self-identity. Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1970, 15, 41-52.

Szybillo, G.J. and Jacoby, J. Effects of different levels of integration on advertising preference and intention to purchase. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, 59, 274-280.

Terrell, F. and Taylor, J. The development of an inventory to measure certain aspects of black nationalist ideology. Psychology, A Quarterly Journal of Human Behavior, 1978, 15, 31-33.